# NEWS

No. 594

November 14, 1947 3d.

In Canada

## NO COMPULSORY CADET TRAINING IN ONTARIO SCHOOLS

THE Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation, whose activity in mustering opposition to compulsory Cadet Training in Secondary schools was reported recently in Peace News, has achieved its aim in the Province where it has been most active. Ontario will have only voluntary training. "That means there will not be commented Canada's leading pacifist, Rev. R. Edis Fairbairn.

To a FoR delegation Premier Drew had said that so long as he was Premier there would be Cadet Training. Apparently the Federal authorities at Ottawa did not co-operate too readily for a new course named Physical Education and Citizenship Corps Training has been substituted for the previous Cadet Training.

This includes classroom instruction in games and in the theory of handling a rifle. Actual use of a rifle on the shooting range must be voluntary and after school hours. "A knowledge of the care and proper use of firearms is deemed valuable for the prevention of shooting accidents and for the avoidance of the cruelty and suffering involved in the wanton wounding of game animals." School principals, not necessarily pacifist, tend to disapprove of voluntary cadet training as interfering with the cur-

riculum.

The Fellowship's Annual Conference this year at Toronto's Carlton Street United Church had Cadet Training as the first item on a list of subjects for discussion, while the Conference's number one Speaker, Muriel Lester was the preacher at the special Conference service broadcast

on Sunday, June 15. Throughout the war the Sunday Morning Service has been broadcast and still is, from this Church, whose minister, James M. Finlay, is the Chairman of the Canadian FoR.

IN NEW ZEALAND

## Magistrate upholds right to demonstrate

ON July 30 about three hundred students, dockers and others, after meeting at the war memorial marched through the streets of Wellington, New Zealand, carrying placards urging "Hands off Indonesia," "Stop Imperialist War," "Stop this bloodshed."

Police took the names of some of the marchers and on October 17 ten of the demonstrators were charged in the Magistrates' Court with taking part in an unlawful procession, not having the permit required under a City Council Byelaw.

The defence lawyer argued that the Byelaw was invalid because repugnant to the laws of N.Z.; that it was an inherent and common law right of the British people to use the roads and to demonstrate in an orderly and peaceful manner.

In a reserved judgment on Oct. 28 the magistrate dismissed the charge, holding that the Byelaw was un-reasonable as well as repugnant. Stating that it claimed to prohibit completely processions of any kind except in conformity with the terms of a prior written permit from the Mayor, the Magistrate added: "No greater infringement of the right of citizens to use the streets could well

be imagined.
"Unless challenged by appeal to the Supreme Court," writes our New Zealand (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

# PEACE ABOLISH THE DEATH

THE fact that many people regarded as respectable were in prison during the last two wars and mixed perforce with those not generally regarded as respectable, has helped to widen the interest in penal matters and to increase the impatience with which the new Criminal Justice Bill has been awaited.

The Bill, now published, does not directly affect prison conditions, for the rules governing the conduct of prisons are to be FRANK DAWTRY made by the Secretary of State. This continues the present practice, and under it such a thing as the establishment of prison camps was possible without special legislation. We must hope that those responsible will continue to experiment, and institute a general cleaning up of prisons until such time as they can be pulled down. The granting of compulsory powers to purchase land

and buildings may help.

The Bill says that prison rules "may make provision for ensuring "may make provision for ensuring that a person charged with any offence (in prison) shall be given a proper opportunity of presenting his case." If "may" were replaced by "must" this would make possible the appointment of a "prisoner's friend" to assist those who can today be tried without any regard for the rules of without any regard for the rules of evidence.

## New ways with youth

Under this Bill no one under the age of 21 may be sent to prison without a good reason, stated in writing by the responsible court. Borstal training continues, but for people under 21 there will also be detention centres to which offenders may be committed for periods up to six months. These will keep young people out of prison, and their purpose will be to provide hard work, training and strict discipling. There are hopeful strict discipline. There are hopeful possibilities in such centres, but there may also be dangers, for they must not become merely boys' prisons, or fatigue squads in charge of some sergeant-major.

. There is to be a wider use of re-

mand centres for all but exceptional cases, and a welcome provision that a probation order or a remand may include a direction to undergo or provide mental or medical examination and treatment.

Penal servitude and other divisions are abolished, but this merely regularises current practice. The trainlarises current practice. The training, treatment and classification of prisoners will be in the hands of the prison authorities. A new form of "Corrective Training" for periods of from two to four years is proposed for recidivist offenders under 30, and "Preventive Detention" of from 5 to 14 years is intended to protect society from the continuing recidivist over that age. All very well, perhaps, but when a man is deprived of his liberty the right use of his time becomes a social responsibility and it is essential that prisoners should have the opportunity to do creative work and to learn trades more useful than mailbag sewing and the like.

## Flogging goes

Reporting to the police comes to a welcome end, but certain prisoners may be ordered to report for a period after discharge to an appointed society, presumably the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society which thus Prisoners' Aid Society which thus gains an official status which may not be an unmixed blessing.

The Bill abolishes the right of any court to order whipping or flogging, but praise for this must be tempered but praise for this must be tempered with regret that flogging remains permissible within prisons for prison

Sweden one of us.

(See also "Prison Reform in Sweden" on page three).

offences. It is, nevertheless, a good Bill so far as it goes, but its value must ultimately depend on the quality and outlook of those who are to implement it; and provision is made for their training.

In a time of difficulty and distress when crime figures are high, it is creditable that the Government should propose measures which are in fact an admission of the condition which the so-called crime wave underlines—that the old methods have failed and new methods must be attempted.

## The rope remains

Yet the oldest method of all, still stays—to deny the policy of fitting the treatment to the offender rather than to his offence. The whole tenor and purpose of the Bill will be contradicted by every execution which takes place, for the death penalty implies that the murderer is beyond hope or reform. We can say this of no man, and in fact the murderer is usually a first offender.

There is ample evidence in favour of abolition. Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland each show a lower murder rate after abolishing capital punishment, than be-fore while in U.S.A. those States fore, while in U.S.A. those States which have no death penalty have murder rates far below the average

for the whole country.

An amendment will be moved to bring into the Bill a clause to remove the death penalty and it is essential to secure all possible support for this. Members of Parliament will probably welcome encouragement from their constituents on the subject. It is not a party issue but one of fundamental principle.

"No man is an island." We all share responsibility for the offender, and execution merely registers a re-fusal to accept that responsibility. When the prison bell tolls, it tolls for

# Beware of the word democracy

AS a newcomer to the ranks of Peace News Commentators it is only fair to readers to tell them where I stand. Briefly, then, in National Affairs I am a Liberal, because that means putting the Community before Class. In International Affairs I am a World Citizen, because that means putting Mankind before the State. On both counts I am a Pacifist, because I feel an impulse of the spirit, confirmed by the mind, to promote concord and refrain from violence.

None of these attitudes is popular, and it is questionable whether any of them can be effective, from the viewpoint of large scale results, in the years that stretch immediately ahead of us. This is due not only to the potency of the blind forces, which having been unleashed by psycho-logical and physiological disturbances can with difficulty be restrained and controlled, but because the sensitive minority has not yet discovered that its function is organised minority action. Confused by the apparent strength of mass-appeal and mass-manipulation the sensitive minority is still toying with the methods of power-politics, which it professes to discredit, instead of realising its greater strength in being able to do of itself and by itself what must be done for the salvation of humanity.

This may sound undemocratic; but let us be very careful in the employment of a word so debased as Democracy today. Nothing could be further from the reality than Lincoln's definition of "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." The role of the Peace Movement, as I see it, is aristocratic, and

## "Dreamers and Pacifists"

HE relevance of these observations appears from Zhdanov's report the Communist International Bureau, which denounces "the bour-

COMMENTARY

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

geois intelligentsia dreamers and pacifists who are deceived by the idea of world government." There is some truth in Zhdanov's contention. World Government, as it is often depicted, is a mere extension of the western democratic system of government to world proportions, to be achieved by federation. Agitation is directed to persuading western governments to federate, and thus creating a new and more formidable power combination conflicting with the eastern democratic conception. Have we any reason to suppose that such an attempt would not be resisted by force, and are we as sure that would govern and are we so sure that world government in the real interests of mankind must necessarily correspond to any system of government that we have

Zhdanov says further: "The Communist Parties alone, expressing the will and aspirations of all progressive democratic elements, are raising the banner of true democracy—the banner which defends the national independence of the whole of Europe.'

any reader is free to look up the meaning of that word in his dictiongreeted Molotov's statement that Russia has the secret of the atom bomb, we have a sufficient answer. If pacifists want to work for world government, and of course they must, world government achieved without war, let them leave democracy, or at least demagogy, out of it. Nothing is to be gained by playing with federal fires or fictitious electoral representation. Let pacifists rather exhibit to the world an exemplar of world government in operation as dis-cerned and applied by themselves to themselves. That is the positive course that their peacemaking should

Sensitivity suffers

IT is the hard road, for sensitive people are most influenced and affected by the terrible direction of the trend of events. This has come home to some of us in the suicide of John Winant, a man who genuinely desired to serve his fellow men and had done so to the best of his ability. When he was Ambassador of the United States here many were impressed by his evident sincerity and unaffectedness. He was a reserved man, though hardly austere, and being in a position to know a great deal his spirit must have been greatly oppressed as he worked on his Memoirs and deduced what must be the outcome of present policies. His was a case of "men's hearts failing them for fear." It is only those who really care whose hearts do fail them.

Another man who has lately been in the news is Mr. Mikolaiczyk, leader of the Polish Peasant Party. I saw him and heard him speak, just

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

# PEACE NEWS

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# **BURMA NOW**

THE reading of the Burma Independence Bill in Parliament last week might have been treated as an historic occasion. Mr. Churchill's description of it as "a joy-day for the Labour Party, one of those moments in our history when they reached the satisfaction and fulfilment of long years of labour and endeavour might have been greeted with a hearty "hear, hear," from Ministerial benches. Mr. Churchill speaks the truth sometimes, when he is being sarcastic. Oddly enough, however, few Labour members were even there to hear him, and there was none of the panegyric accorded to the Indian Independence Bill.

Partly, no doubt, this was owing to unhappy recollections of the sequel in Kashmir and the Punjab; partly to the fact that Burma, unlike India, was definitely quitting the Common-wealth. But if Burma's secession is regrettable, it is a thousand times less so than her enforced retention would have been, and Labour has every reason to congratulate itself on the present transfer of power.

The Burmese, of course, are "unfit for full self-government"—that, from Mr. Churchill, was inevitable: it was only peculiar to hear it adduced in favour of Dominion status, which he has elsewhere defined as full self-government. But if more than even the present average of 1,700 murders, dacoities or armed robberies a month is his evidence for their unfitness, it is still stronger evidence against his own portrayal of 15,000,000 people dwelling "in peace, justice and con-tentment under British rule"—still stronger evidence, if any were required, after his own admission that force would be necessary to restore that happy state of affairs.

We know too well that in Mr. Churchill's eyes no coloured people is ever fit for self-government, what-ever the calibre of its leaders. His horror at the sight of U Aung San, "whose hands were dyed in British and loyal Burmese blood, marching up the steps of Buckingham Palace" must have intended to betray U Aung San) was exactly on a par with his horror at the sight of Gandhi, "a seditious Middle Temple lawyer... walking up the steps of the vice-regal palace" twenty years ago. palace" twenty years ago. Mr. Churchill has learned little since he left Harrow. In the debate that fol-lowed his speech, even some of his own Party disowned him—and it would be a good thing if the flatulent outbursts of this inflated schoolboy sent them looking for a new Leader of the Opposition.

All this, however, does not say that either Burma or India is fit for self-government. The evidence is that they are not. But what is far more important to realise is that neither, by the same token, is Europe. The misery incurred, and likely to be incurred, through the liberation of India by Nehru and Jinnah, is as nothing to that incurred, and likely to be incurred, through the liberation of Furone by Stellia and Cherebill. of Europe by Stalin and Churchill.

We do not on that account deplore the liberation. The overthrow of an alien dictatorship is the first step on the road to democracy. But full self-government demands infinitely more than that. It demands a sense of responsibility in each for the welfare of all—and that is quite as lacking to the West as the East. Indeed, it may be even more lacking, where the spirit of violence has been deliberately fostered for fifteen years, and where, in the name of freedom, the struggle of each against all is still sanctioned as laissez-faire. The Burmese (as Mr. Churchill perceived) have at least nationalised their industry; and Nehru has not yet been heard to declare that the disruption and violence implication in our ruin.

Letters to the Editor

# THESE STORIES ARE DANGEROUS

DO begin with, I should like to state that I am not a member of the Communist Party. I am, however, a member of the War Resisters' International, German Branch, and as such I am pledged to fight all causes of war. Now, one of the causes of war, as I see it, is idle talk, and another is a repetition of this talk, however well meaning. Therefore I feel that Ingeborg Wood-cock's article "The Russians in Germany," in No. 586 of Peace News, must not go unanswered.

Unfortunately it is perfectly true that many Germans talk about another war as the only means to better their present situation. It is also true that they think of this new war It is also as of one between America and Russia. How they manage to arrive at the conclusion that such a war would be to the advantage of Germany or even of the Western Zones, I have so far been unable to make out, but they seem to be happily looking forward to its final outbreak.

Considering that for the last 30 years the German people got it dinned into their heads that com-munism is the curse of mankind and if put into practice will lead to nothing but massacre, poverty, injustice, torture, and whatnot it is justice, torture, and whatnot it is hardly surprising that they hate the Russians as we only hate those we have reason to fear. At present they feed their hatred with all the stories that are being told about life in the Russian Zone, forgetting, of course, for the time being that ten minutes ago they were talking in practically the same strain about their own life in the British Zone. in the British Zone.

## LACK OF AGREEMENT

Now, I have never been in the Russian Zone though I have talked to a great number of people who lived there or went there for a visit. Hardly two of those people agreed about the experiences they had, so that it is very head to get a clear that it is very hard to get a clear picture of what exactly is going on behind the so-called "iron curtain." But I know parts of the British Zone fairly well and I know that practically all people in it agree that things cannot go on as they are things cannot go on as they are. Although I am all for democracy I must tell Ingeborg Woodcock that I do wish somebody in the British Zone were able to force the farmers to give up even 75 per cent. of their produce, and make them so much afraid of the consequences if they couldn't do this

that they would take their movable possession and clear out. seems more human and just to evict a few farmers than to let the population of entire cities starve to death.

As to the refugees who cross the frontier of the Russian Zone illegally, know something about them, too. I happen to live very near to the Belgian and Dutch border. There's a lot of smuggling going on across those borders. I have spoken to refugees who had been sent into cur district and who told me quite openly that they were not at all keen on working but all the more keen on living as near to the border as possible.

## TO BE PITIED

These people are certainly to be pitied, not because they had to flee from the Russian Zone but because many of them never did a spot of work in their lives and do not intend to begin now. They know perfectly well that the authorities in the Russian Zone will not put up with that sort of attitude, but the authorities in the British Zone will, and that is why they prefer to come to us. Naturally they feel that they have come into a "free country."

All this merely goes to show that all the measures taken in the Russian Zone are not wanton cruelty but that there is quite a well-intentioned method in their madness, a method which is all too much wanting in our

part of the world.

There are enough people who will tell you that the whole of Germany, including the Western Zones, is one big concentration camp and that the British intend to starve us to death. Now I know that to be absolutely untrue. How am I to know that the stories told about the Russians in Germany are not equally untrue? But true or untrue they are dangerous, the more so as they find willing ears all over the world where most people are convinced that nothing good can ever come out of Russia.

364997 Lt. N. Marriott, 123 Sub Workshops REME, BAOR 36.

## An Army treat

THERE cannot be many regular readers of P.N. who are members of the Armed Forces. As one such, I have come, in the course of a three-year acquaintance with your journal, to appreciate where many of Descent to Slavery? the friends of sanity and humanity lie. It is for this reason that I crave a few inches of coveted space in P.N. The other officer of this unit and I have decided to give a Christmas party for as many German children between the ages of 4 and 12, as we can cope with. Readers of P.N. will not need to be reminded of the plight of such children in Germany today, and we hope that our effort will help bring a little happiness to a few. German children harbour the same delightful wishes and hopes for the Xmas period as do our own-but only a privileged few can experience fulfilment of such heartfelt desires.

In order that yet a few more may have a little happiness, we would be very grateful for any contributions of sweets and chocolate, toys, children's old clothes, etc.—anything that the reader of PN would like his own children to have at Christmas.

at Christmas. I know that your readers will be making similar contributions through the PPU or similar organisations that in point of fact I am the "un-introduced stranger." Nevertheless,

I am hopeful that this appeal made

of Europe necessitate its occupation by an Indian Army.

When, and only when, we have learned to do without a holocaust every twenty years, will it become us to lecture the East on self-govern-ment. In the meanwhile, let us be thankful that one more country, at any rate, has the chance to escape

on behalf of hungry and frustrated German children will not be ignored. NOEL MARRIOTT.

DIFFER from Mr. Laurence Housman with extreme reluctance; but when he asserts that "if the majority makes tyrannous laws, the minority should obey them if they only affect material, and not moral liberty," he is surely urging upon us a dangerous degree of compliance, not to say complacency. Such an argument could be used to justify absolute slavery (which Aristotle thought an ordinance of nature") - providing that only our bodies are subjected while our minds are left free. And "Direction" of Labour is a long step on the road to complete material servitude.

I find it very hard to believe that Mr. Housman would wish to give even a qualified approval to Aristotle's dic-: but I the philosopher would regard the total surrender of material liberty as in any vital sense different from "slavery," as he used the term.

JAMES B. FELL.

Secretary, Neo-Tolstoyan Society.
39 Sackville Road,
Bexhill, Suseex.

## The art of giving

A. J. GOWING and Paul Spencer have commented on the question of friendliness to Germans and on the existence or non-existence of gratitude in return.

I feel that the important thing is to maintain our faith in the rightness of kind actions and to continue in this attitude doggedly. In this con-nection I think that we would all do

## 1,000 EMPTY SEATS

INFORTUNATELY, in spite of the fact that it was the tenth anniversary of Dick Sheppard's death, and that so magnificent a programme had been arranged, there were 1,000 empty seats at the Central Hall on November 1. We had anticipated a much larger support from members of the PPU, and as it is, although all the artists, of course, gave their services, the concert represents a finan-cial loss. If only half the number of empty seats had been filled with 2s. 6d. ticket holders we should have covered our expenses.

COVERED OUT EXPENSES.

Some who could have been there, were not. But it is not too late to send us your 2s. 6d. even if now you will not enjoy the concert. Some were not there because they could not he, yet they too could still share in the Commemoration if they would like to fill up one of the empty chairs by sending us 2s. 6d. How many of the missing 500 half-crowns can I expect to receive this week?

MAUD ROWNTREE.

Treasurer.

Treasurer.
Contributions to HQ Fund since Oct. 31:
£7 2s. 6d. Year's total to date: £179 19s. 2d.
Donations to the fund should be sent, marked
"Headquarters Fund." to the Treasurer at
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

It must be remembered that every derogatory thing said about Russia at present has twice the weight of things said about almost any other nation, because there are at least twice as many people who will believe it, repeat it, and if possible enlarge it a little. As long as all these stories are indiscriminately told and believed in it. and believed, is it to be wondered at that Russia feels herself encircled spiritually and otherwise and produces "rockets, flying bombs, tanks, and ammunition in 24-hour production"?

## ALPINE STORY

There is a story, by the way, that the Americans have a Messerschmitt factory somewhere in the Bavarian Alps in full production, and that a well-known German officer of the late "Luftwaffe" is kept as a kind of pet there, rushing about in his uniform decked out with all his ribbons and medals. Maybe it's only a lie, but the chances are about equal that at least some of those militaristhat at least some of those militaris-tic stories about the Russian Zone are lies as well.

I am all for revealing every fact

relating to peace or war that we may happen to come across, but let us be sure they are facts first, and let us talk about ourselves of whom we know so much before we talk about the Russians of whom we know so

little.

HILDA VON KLENZE. War Resisters' International, German Branch, Aachen Group. (22c) Brand b. Aachen, Heidestr. 8, Brit. Zone, Germany.

well to read some of the wholesome writings of William Saroyan, such as "The Human Comedy," from which I quote a fragment where Mrs. Macaulay talks to her little boy,

"You must remember always to give, of "You must remember always to give, of everything you have. You must give foolishly even. You must be extravagant. You must give to all who come into your life. Then nothing and no one shall have the power to cheat you of anything, for if you give to a thief, he cannot steal from you, and he himself is then no longer a thief. And the more you give, the more you will have to give."

In his writings Saroyan maintains the fact of common human decencies which that twentieth century abortion -the mechanised State-would that we ignored or extinguished.

VICTOR E. RICHFORD. 50 Dordon Road, Dordon, Tamworth, Staffs.

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# CHALLENGE TO PACIFISM 1. The Failure of Force

HERE is much apathy and despair in the world today, and that is in a certain sense appropriate. There is also much of this mood in sections of the pacifist movement; and this seems to me unwarranted and, though not inexcusable, nevertheless, a betrayal of trust and a culpable blindness to an opportunity which beckons.

For an unprecedented opportunity confronts the pacifist movement. First of all, there is the fact that modern technology has brought mankind to the point where it must choose between war and survival, or at any rate, survival under tolerable, not to speak of desirable conditions. The scientists who know most about it are saying this every hour. It is unnecessary to labour this point. We are thus able to say, "I told you so." Now to say "I told you so" under the say of the say told you so under the say to told you so." I told you so " under the say of t the conditions which exist today is, of course, morally reprehensible and practically inadvisable. But to be able to say it, to know that history has said it for one, that is intellectually and practically an immense gain.

## No fruits from war

No nation or people, assuming that it survives at all, can any longer even in a slight degree attain its objectives by means of war. The jectives by means of war. The nation which tries to establish a Pax Sovietica or a Pax Americana after having shared in bringing atomic war on the world, will be hated as no other nation in all history has been. In achieving its "victory," it will waste the resources and the morale both in its own midst, and among other human beings, which might have enabled it to realise the fruits of vic-

It is noticeable that the intelligentsia in the United States, who did so much to bring the country into the war against Germany and Japan, and were extremely scornful of pacifism in their propaganda from about 1936 on to the day before yesterday, are apparently already beginning to discern that they will probably have to choose soon between acquiescing in war against the Soviets, or advocating that, if nothing else will suffice, the United States should adopt an out-and-out pacifist line.

Not only has it been demonstrated that war between nations has lost any semblance of rationality or morality, however, but it has now also been demonstrated before men's eyes that violence as a means to achieving social change is completely stultifying and self-defeating. New light has been shed on the problem by the events of the decade since 1937.

## A French view

Here I come to my first quotations from the articles which set me off on this discussion. Albert Camus, this discussion. Albert Camus, French novelist and one of the editors of the newspaper Combat, which he helped to put out during the Occupation, states the problem as he now sees it in the Politics article. He points out that the French Socialists, e.g., have now seen at first hand the violence and oppression "of which they had hitherto only a theoretical idea. And they have had to ask themselves whether, as their philosophy requires, they would consent to use that violence themselves, even as a temporary measure and for a quite different end."

People like myself want not a world in which murder no longer exists (we are not so crazy as that!); but rather one in which murder is not legitimate. Here indeed, we are Utopian—and contradictory. For we do live, it is true, in a world where murder is legitimate, and we ought to change it if we do not like it. But it appears that we cannot change without murder. Murder thus throws us back on murder, and we will continue to live in terror, whether we accept the fact with resignation, or wish to abolish it by means which merely replace one terror with another.

During the last week in September, 1947, when the brawl in the UN Assembly between Marshall and Co. on the one hand and Vishinsky and Co. on the other was reaching its highest—or lowest pitch, I read two articles which stimulated and crystallised my thinking at certain points.

The first of these was by Albert Camus, the French novelist, which appeared in the July-Aug. issue of the magazine Politics. It was entitled "Neither Victims Nor Executioners," The other was the Paris Letter by H. J. Kaplan in the September-October issue of Partisan Review entitled "A Minor Scandal in Paris." I sat down as soon as I could after reading these brilliant utterances to write this article. to write this article.

## =A. J. MUSTE=

It seems to me every one should think this over. For what strikes me, in the midst of polemics, threats and outbursts of violence, is the fundamental good will of everyone. From Right to Left; everyone, with the exception of a few swindlers, believes that his particular truth is the one to make men happy. And yet the combination of all these good intentions has produced the present infernal world, where men are killed, threatened and deported. where war is prepared, where one cannot speak freely without being insulted or betrayed. Thus if people like ourselves live in a state of contradiction, we are not the only ones, and those who accuse us of Utopianism are possibly themselves also living in a Utopia, a different one, but perhaps a more costly one in the end.

## The dilemma

Just what is meant by the dilemma which Camus poses—"murder throws us back upon murder"—and the depth of degradation to which it can, in spite of "the fundamental good will of everyone," bring those who resort to violence to end violence, is presented in powerful and vivid terms in H ed in powerful and vivid terms in H.

J. Kaplan's "A Minor Scandal in Paris." The author is commenting on the books written by David Rousset about Buchenwald and other concentration camps, "L'Univers Concentrationnaire" and "Les Jours de notre mort." Rousset is a Frenchman with a thorough training in Marxism and sociology, and great literary

What he discovered was that the What he aiscovered was that the Nazis were by far too few to staff any but the top posts of the bureaucracy (which included the camp police, infirmary, sources of food-clothing, records, etc.); they were obliged to call upon the collaboration of wiseners who in turn ation of prisoners who, in turn, co-opted into their ranks the minor assistants, informers, henchmen, assistants, informers, henchmen, mignons, who were necessary for the maintenance of the S.S. order and the satisfaction of the bureaucrat's desires. And since these posts frequently made the difference between life and death, and in any case procured material advantages which made survival more probable, they were the object of constant ferocious competition between prisoners and, later, between organised groups of prisoners. Prisoner-bureaucrats were better fed, better housed and better clothed than the

plebeians; they were armed with clubs and whips, and were them-selves rarely beaten . . . To conserve their power, the bureaucrats were obliged to exercise it in line with the methods and the philosophy of their masters. They were obliged to obtain maximum work and maximum discipline in the areas of their power. They were obliged to collaborate actively in the entire enterprise of the camps. After a long and bloody struggle, the German Communists wrested from the common law criminals the

from the common-law criminals the posts in the prisoner-bureaucracy which controlled the camps under and for the top S.S. bureaucracy. Rousset believed that "the S.S. maintained the politicals in power for one reason only: the directives from Berlin called for production, and the criminals were anarchical and incapable of organising work."

## No place to stop

It would be fascinating and instructive to dwell upon the details of the Communist activities in this set-up, but limits of space compel us to go on once to state Kaplan's conclusion,

which seems indeed incontrovertible: Granting . . . that the Communist control of the bureaucracy meant saving from physical destruction a larger percentage of Communists than would otherwise have been saved, it saved them in such a way and under such conditions, that the survivors can only function today as the docile instruments of another police-power in Germany, namely the N.K.V.D. If one accepts, if one even compromises with, the totalitarian answer, one is obliged in the end to accept the camps.

Or, to state Kaplan's conclusion in another way, resort to violence and terror as a means, and there is no place to stop. There is at any rate, no place where you will stop.

(The second part of this article will appear next week).

## Prison Reform in Sweden

SWEDEN'S new prison code which came into force on July 1, 1946, has resulted in several experiments in the prisons there. It is to be hoped they are being closely watched by our own Home Office.

they are being closely watched by our own Home Office.
Standing recently in one of the wings of the Harlanda Prison in think if he could be the coul Gothenburg and looking at the long row of cell doors I was struck by the similarity of that building to Wandsworth Prison. With the opening of a cell door by the Deputy Governor, however, all similarity vanished—it was the attractively curtained window which first caught my eye and then a table covered with doll's furniture, made in the occupant's spare time.

It was not a cell, it was a slightly over-furnished room. The iron bedstead with mattress and gaily-coloured bedspread left little room for a corner cupboard on which stood model sailing yacht—a beautiful piece of workmanship. There was line on the floor, pin-up girls and other pictures neatly arranged on the wall and a vase of flowers on the table amidst the doll's furniture. The reall windows were of a normal bouse. cell windows were of a normal house-hold type, not the heavily grilled pattern of the English prison; it was true that there were iron bars to be seen on the other side, but viewed through a framework of rosepatterned curtains they somehow did

THE CURATOR'S WORK Before inspecting the prison I had had a talk with the Deputy Governor and the Curator in the latter's office. The Curator's work corresponds with that of the British Discharged Prisoner's Aid Officer in looking after the welfare of the prisoner's dependents and giving whatever help is necessary to start the prisoner in work at the end of his sentence. But the Curator at Harlanda was a young woman. Here was revolution num-ber two for there are several women on the permanent staff at Harlanda.

Later, in the office block of the prison I was shown a room where the prisoners were given intelligence tests; there I saw a large and burley Swede seated at a table, on the other side of which was seated a young lady questioning him.

What, I wondered, would a prisoner think if he could be suddenly transplanted from Wandsworth to Harlanda and there see smartly-dressed young ladies flitting around the place and be told that he might speak to

them whenever he wished?
The Swedish lawyer who accompanied me was a little surprised that his country had gone quite so far as this. Would not this mixing of the sexes, he asked, impose too great a strain on the prisoners?

We were to learn later that it had

done so on one occasion. This was when a prisoner, who was apparently determined to go straight in future, begged the Curator at his prison to marry him, and on receiving a re-fusal attempted to poison himself.

## NO HARSH CONDITIONS

"We make no attempt to punish the prisoners by harsh conditions as a result of this new prison code," I was told by a former prison Curator. "Men serving sentences of one year and over are granted three days' leave of absence every two months. Their diet is slightly superior to that of the army and they may bath as

of the army and they may bath as often as they wish but not less frequently than once a fortnight.

"We protect society by isolating the criminal, after that we attempt to reform him, not by punishment but by showing him a better way of life, trying to find out by means of in-telligence tests and with the aid of a psychiatrist what is needed to make him a useful citizen. It is necessary to win the prisoner's confidence—not to make him bitter."

It is too early yet to know what results will be obtained from all these reforms in Sweden. The lesson for England, I felt, was in the fact that in a similar collection of buildings a completely new approach to the penal system was being worked out. It would obviously be possible for Britain to make the long overdue changes without heavy capital expen-

The prison warders-called "watchmen -are given a term of instrucmen —are given a term of instruc-tion in psychology, sociology and medicine. There seemed to be no hint of the barrack square in the relationship of either the prison officials to one another or to the prisoners.

The prisoners worked in two wellequipped factories, making furniture and clothing. They were paid from 11d. to 4s. a day for 8 hours' work. Half of this amount had to be saved, being paid out on release; the remainder the prisoners could spend on cocoa, biscuits, sugar, etc.

HOSPITAL ACCOMMODATION

There was no extensive hospital accommodation as prisoners were removed to a public hospital if ill.

Prisoners were only locked in their

cells at night time, they had one hour cells at night time, they had one hour for exercise each day; this generally took the form of a game of handball. Teams of handball players took part in league matches with youth-club and other teams outside the prison. Visiting teams, playing in the prison grounds, mixed freely with the prisoners. The prison teams went outside to play away methos

outside to play away matches.

Prisoners were allowed two visits from friends or relatives each month of fifteen minutes' duration. The remission given to prisoners was only one-sixth of the sentence compared

with one-third in Britain. Prisoners sentenced to imprison-ment for life were generally released after serving about fourteen years.
To obtain this release they had to
petition the King. In one case, a
prisoner who considered himself perisoner who considered himself innocent, refused to petition the King, as to do so would, he felt, be admitting his guilt. Since it is constitutionally impossible for the King to reduce a sentence unless he is fair to retitioned the prisoner hide fair to petitioned, the prisoner bids fair to serve the whole sentence. Should one deduce from this that Swedish prison life is too comfortable?

HUGH H. BROCK.

The real issues arising from the Un-American Activities investigation are being obscured by the

# HOLLYWOOD SMOKESCREEN

says EUGENE LYONS

New York Editorial Representative of Readers' Digest.

REPORTS on the Congressional investigation, now important single source for money to under way in Washington, of Communist influences in Holly-Communist influences in Hollywood, probably make curious about "Moscow gold" but none at all about Hollywood gold. The \$2,000-areading abroad.

There is, of course, a circus quality about the proceedings, for which the Communist witnesses and their cheering squads in the audience are more to blame than the committee staging The ineptitude of Conthe show. The ineptitude of Congressmen and the deft mischief-making tactics of the Community combine to smother the real issues in trivialities and irrelevancies.

But it is to be hoped that long range observers of the spectacle will not be misled by the outcries about a "witch hunt," persecution of innocent "liberals," assaults on freedom of speech, and the rest of it. These are part of the smokescreen being thrown up by experts in the arts of confusion who have only one purpose: to safe-guard the large and profitable power accumulated by Communists in and around the motion picture industry.

Fact-finding and exposure by Congressional committee is a long established legislative mechanism in the United States. On the whole it has been effective in lighting up dark corners of American life. It has uncovered corruption and laid the groundwork for useful laws. The work of the committee which exposed the Teapot Dome scandal, the wartime committee headed by Harry S. Truman, then a Senator, into munitions contracts, the La Follette committee inquiry into labour spying are still fresh in memory.

## Revision needed, but . .

What ever is wrong with the procedure—and there is general recognition that it needs revision-it has been wrong for a long time. The organisations and individuals whose liberal" souls are so anguished by the conduct of the Committee on Un-American Activities have been re-markable calm in the past. Evidently they could detect no threats to civil liberty when bankers, business men and alleged fascists were under Congressional fire.

It is only when Stalin's brethren are involved that these pseudo-liberals become desperately alarmed for the safety of the Bill of Rights. A sensible appraisal of the episode must therefore discount their anguish.

The simple truth is that Hollywood has been more deeply infiltrated by Communists and their fellow-travellers than any other department of American life. They do not "control" the industry, but they have sought to do so. Their disciplined sought to do so. Their disciplined minorities dominate the Screen minorities dominate the Screen Writers Guild, the Screen Analysts Guild and other motion picture groups. They have put their special Party-line stamp on social life in Hollywood.

Don't look for evidences of their influence in American pictures. That is where they have been least successful. A politically sophisticated movie-goer can often spot their handlwork in casual lines, side-swipes at Wall Street, imperialists, warmongers and other Party-line demons of the moment. But overt propaganda on the screen has been the rare expension. rare exception.

The Hollywood contribution to the American Communist movement has been extensive but in quite different

**PROBLEMS FACING** PEACEMAKERS

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important single source for money to finance Stalinist enterprises of every week proletarians and the swimming-pool peasants have paid, and paid gladly, for the emotional thrill of being vicarious revolutionists.

For another and pasters

out a few star-spangled movie names. The producers spend millions to make some comedian or clothes-horse as familiar to the multitude as any soap or cigarette brand; then along comes

being vicarious revolutionists.

For another—and perhaps more important—the prestige and glamour of great Hollywood names have been most valuable to the comrades in building their endless array of falsefront organisations. There is hardly propaganda purposes.

For all the howling of the totalitarian liberals, for all the bathos and confusion, the Washington show is serving a healthy purpose. It is identifying the Communist ring-leaders in Hollywood, who will find the going a lot harder in the future.

FROM information in P.N. Aug. 8, it appears that the U.S. has a stock of 396 atomic bombs "in hand," that these townbusters are being produced at the rate of 500 a year and that the latest type is 28 times more powerful than the Hiroshima specimen, and will de-vastate an area of 464 square miles in a split second.

Now if AB Hiroshima "put paid" to the life accounts of 25,000 Japanese, then the present U.S. stock of ABs at average power could liquidate or vapourise no less than 139,100,000 human bipeds.

Reckoning 500 of the 28x type, then in twelve months time, the U.S. Air Force, by well disposed explosion of the whole stock, could be the stock of the whole stock of the whole stock of the whole stock of the whole stock of the world the world the world to the whole stock of the world to th reduce the world's population by 489,200,000 souls or bodies in a few hours' flying.

Assuming the present standard of efficiency and production, then in five years time, by strategic bombing with the current stock of ABs, the U.S. could completely depopulate the earth-except for the U.S.,

BUT Russia, i.e., the Communist Government, which Mr. Gromyko tells us does not know the meaning of compromise, has now, we are told, discovered the "know how" of the manufacture of atomic bombs, and in a few years may be in the position of the U.S.; able to "liquidate the opposition" to the tune of 139,100,000—and that would account for the population of the U.S., and there we should all be-

vapourised! But worse is in store for us, for assuming the ever-increasing production and efficiency of ABs, not only by the U.S. and the USSR, but by France and Great Britain, for example, all of which are using German scientists in their develop-German scientists in their develop-ment of the art and science of human annihilation, then in ten years time — if anyone lives that long—the world-stock of the latest and best atomic bombs alone, could, if properly used by militarists for their well-known humane purpose of "saving lives," definitely and finally obliterale all life — including the militarists—from this revolving lunatic asylum of the

OWEVER, other information in P.N. of Aug. 15 is to the effect that Aldous Huxley warns us that the real peril facing the world is not power politics or atomic warfare, but overpopulation. He says that by the end of the cen-

tury the earth's population will be 3,000,000,000 instead of the present 2,000,000,000, and the earth will not stand the pressure (go off with a bang, presumably), and that if we ignore this peril we shall drift to catastrophe.

Reginald Reynolds wants the War Resisters' International to consider this aspect of "things to come." (Becoming the Birth Control International?).

ten years time, or by overpopulation

in 50 years time.

But in P.N. of Aug 22, another piece of information adds to the gaiety of nations: the same Reginald Reynolds tells us that "the world is desperately short of man-power."

(See hort in fact that the wisting (So short in fact, that the existing population of the world cannot produce enough food to keep their inadequate numbers alive, and so are busily engaged in murdering each other—in foreign parts).

WELL, where do we go from here? Let's get this thing straightif we don't stop war, we shall all be vapourised by atom bombs, but war is not the real danger, but overpopulation; but we can't be destroyed by overpopulation, because we are desperately short of man-power, so must desperately increase the population, but if we do that we shall rush into catastro-phe worse than war, so we must go to war to reduce the overpopulation, and that brings us back to where we started—a lifeless earth. The question seems to be resolving

itself into the not-so-simple one of bombs or babies. We can't have both—or can we? Atomic bombs are made by grown-up babies, and babies are prospective makers and victims of ABs. If there were no babies there would

be no atomic bombs. Babies are bombs, as a matter of fact—look what a bust-up little Adolf made. If we have babies we have war, and must have atomic bombs or lose the war, but atomic world-war will obliterate all life, and so it seems we mustn't have babies any more, but . . . !

THERE'S only one way out - we must have a different breed of baby. Babies without any of the old Adam in them. Real PPU babies. In fact, we must have a new Creation, a new Adam and Eve—but where shall we find a new Garden of Eden?

he other alternative is to have babies/AND bombs—recent mili-tary and scientific evidence indicates that there is a defence against the atomic bomb, so there is a chance of SOME survivors, the number depending on NUMBERS. The greater the populations, the greater the number of survivors.

Some ABs will get there, if some don't, and the wastage will depend on the number and power of bombs, and the numbers of the populations. If 25 per cent. hit the target, 25 per cent of the world population disappears—at our present estimate, but if the efficiency of the AB increases as the years of peace decrease, even 25 per cent of direct hits may mean 75 per cent decrease

of population.
Therefore, the nations with the most bombs and babies will have the best chance of survival, and that means mass-production of babies, and National compulsory mass-pro-duction at that. "Go to it." inally, it should be noted that bio-

logical warfare is said to be much So here we all are, in the dilemma more dof destruction by depopulation in Nemesis. more deadly than atomic.

# **PASTORAL**

## False and True Ideas of Power

WHENEVER the subject of power is under discuspeople almost at once to associate it in their minds with some aspect of physical force. How is it that this baser conception of power rather than a lofty, moral and. spiritual appreciation of its finer qualities mostly appeals to the average person?

Possibly a part of the answer lies in the fact that what is seen and demonstrative makes a greater appeal to the imagination than do the influences which are hidden. Yet, if only sufficient thought were given to the matter, it would be realised that most of life's greatest experi-ences find their service not in outward displays of material power and violence, but in those feelings and emotions which lie deep within the

As the world has all too much reason to know, the employment of force almost invariably results in the need for further violence. It is a case of like begetting like. On the other hand, many of the most valuable experiences life offers are such as have their springs, not in acts of cruelty or revenge, but in

feelings of love and compassion.

The fact that Jesus based His ministry, in both word and deed, upon this fundamental truth should help to give it added significance. In parable and miracle, the presence and operation of unseen forces is signally recognised. 'The key thought running through much of His teaching is that of the quiet, unobtrusive working of hidden influences. The seed in the soil, the leaven in the meal, the treasure in the field, are vivid examples of the manner in which Jesus foresaw the power of divine truth fulfilling its task. When people clamoured for task. When people clamoured for a popular display of power, it is well to recall that our Lord deliberately refused to gratify the request. His kingdom, He declared, would not come by employing the world's methods and values

methods and values.

By what rule, then, is power to be measured? Only by its lasting results, never by the doubtful success of immediate events. What are commonly understood as the essentials of power-armaments and human resources—are not power at all in the true sense. They are wholly illusory. Like the house wholly illusory. Like the house built on the sand, they will collapse in unutterable disaster. Satan cannot cast out Satan.

The only instrument God chooses to use, whereby His purpose for mankind may be accomplished, is the Cross. Therein is made manifest "the power of God." If the Cross fails, then all must fail. Christian faith, however, inspires the confidence that quietly this "instrument of divine righteousness" pursue its mighty work until final victory is achieved. Signs of it are not altogether wanting. The proved bankruptcy of human and material effort to achieve anything of lasting worth is compelling people to cast their minds and hopes elsewhere. Even where Christian ideas are not wholly acceptable, many are turning a wistful look in that direction. By growing number the message of the Cross is being welcomed as embodying what may after all prove the only way of man's deliverance.

There come periods, such as that through which we are passing, when it would seem that the clock of human it would seem that the clock of human progress is being reversed. This is the consequence of taking short-term views. Why should not God be "working His purpose out" just as surely today as we believe He has been doing since the dawn of history? Man's folly may well prove God's opportunity. When man has discovered how disastrous is the situation to which his false values and pride have brought him. pecessity pride have brought him, necessity may compel him to seek salvation in other ways.

REV. H. J. DALE.

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# Germany Helps Herself PARTITION IN PALESTINE by C. C. SCHWEITZER

In his first article, which appeared a fortnight ago, the writer showed how the Protestant Churches of Germany combined to send into action on the German relief front an organisation called "Das Hilfswerk der Evangelischen Kirchen." He concludes by showing how the material resources available are used.

strictest sense of that term.

The need in Germany being so vast, we are giving relief according to priority: First to children, secondly to refugees and expellees, thirdly to the aged and sick, particularly among the returning prisoners-of-war. From the beginning this principle was strictly adhered to, to administer relief on the basis of greatest need only, irrespective of creed, race or nationality. creed, race or nationality.

We also emphasise that we do not want just to wait for the outside world to give us barest necessities. In fact, during the first half-wear of the Helfswerk's existence, it was a possible possible possible. question of organising all possible self-help within Germany. In those days it took the form of small food and clothing collections, especially by people in the West for those in the East. Over 12 million pieces of clothing were then collected in this way, which really meant that people were very often giving of their own last

### GERMAN CONTRIBUTIONS

Naturally, since the beginning of 1946 contributions from within Germany are being more and more confined to money (so far, something like 100 million marks), but even today we know that in some places you still find collections being taken, in which it means a very great sacrifice, just to contribute one slice of bread.

Since 1946, however, the outside countries, and foremost among them the churches, have outstretched their helping hands, first from Switzer-land, then from Sweden, most of all from the big denominations of America, then from South America, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and since last year also from England, and even from Norway and Holland.

The whole work of the Hilfswerk

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"church in action" is trying to fight? It is being fought on two sectors: In "material aid" and so-called "church reconstruction," in the strictest sense of that term.

today is based on these efforts made on our behalf. But we still are trying to emphasise the importance of self-help, and now even more, in cooperation with our foreign friends, the importance of combining outside the mith Corpus self-help, in other help with German self-help: in other words, to help the Germans to help theniselves. As an example, the churches in America send us raw cotton, from which we make clothing. This was, of course, a stimulus of the first order. The same is being done in other spheres, particularly in that of paper. Here we receive wood-pulp, which the Hilfswerk is now converting into 12 million Bibles and Hymn-books.

## MATERIAL AID

On the material side (to which some 80 per cent. of our means have to go) the Hilfswerk in the early days distributed parcels from abroad. In those days, when no-one else was even attempting to tackle transportation problems anywhere, this was a very difficult task, which in its achievement probably showed how this work could be organised by official agencies, as it is now. Quite rightly, we think that it is not necessarily those who have helping friends On the material side (to which sarily those who have helping friends abroad, or even those unfortune-ately many who ask for such help individually, who are the ones in most desperate need. In the present German catastrophe, we are convinced that only priority cases can be helped effectively, and that is what we are trying to do with the bulk supplies sent to us.

## - NEW CHURCHES

Our supplies are being used in child feeding programmes, child-ren's homes, T.B. centres, disabled ex-Service men's institutions and the

many refugee camps, just to mention the most important lines.

For church reconstruction, the Hilfswerk has distributed as gifts from the churches abroad, some 33 church barracks, is building some emergency churches, distributing books (also from England) so badly needed by students and pastors; it helps the training of some thousands of part-time teachers of religion, and helps the students through grants and extra food We have said that while it is our aim to help the Germans to help themselves, the fact is, that contrary to much that is said today, the Germans are really unable to improve their situation themselves. Their fate is not in their hands, but in these of the Allies in those of the Allies.

The meaning and significance of this help to the Hilfswerk, of the outside world, and foremost of the ecumenical church, is very great in-deed. The fact that the work the Hilfswerk is doing in the four zones of Germany, though on the greatest lasting foundations.

## NPC hear both sides

ON Oct. 29 the lunch-hour meeting of the National Peace Council was addressed by Mr. Edward Atiyah, Secretary of the Arab League; on Nov. 7 by Mr. Levy Bakstansky, Secretary of the Zionist Federation of Gt. Britain. Both made the claim that their case was simple and straightforward.

To an ordinary member of the audience the matter did not look nearly so simple and straightforward. As always, the controversy raged around the issue of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, promising a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This was inter-preted by the Royal Commission on Palestine in 1937 as a promise not inconsistent with the possibility at a future date of the creation in Palestine of a Jewish State.

## RIVAL CLAIMS IN HISTORY

For the Arabs, Britain's recognition of their right to independence, afterwards confirmed by the Covenant of the League of Nations, makes the

Balfour Declaration invalid.

For the Jews, however, the embodiment of the promise of a Palestinian national home in the League of Nations Mandate to Britain, gave the Balfour Declaration the force of international law. Moreover, Mr. Bakstansky declared that he could point to documentary evidence that, within the realm of lands promised to

scale of all, is still comparatively but a bucket in the deep sea, and the fact that a real solution can only be found through political action of the Allies. does not detract in any way at all from this great demonstration of ecumenical unity.

It is widely realised in Germany that it was not as a matter of course that help should be given to Germany so soon after hostilities ceased, given to a Germany in whose name so much was done. At the same time, we are continually reminding our own people of the suffering other lands went through after being overrun by Hitler, and emphasising that the suffering in the Far East, for interest in small the rest today, though stance, is equally great today, though it may not have such general dimen-sions. That in this situation the churches were the first to meet again on terms of complete equality, and to vie with each other to help their weakvie with each other which the world, has er brethren throughout the world, has done more than all the tragically mismanaged and wrongly applied "de-Nazification" to show the German people what the spirit of understand-

Hence the work of the Hilfswerk and its friends abroad is essentially a work of bridge—and peace—building. In this over-all situation then, in which nibilism and apathy are assuming ever larger proportions and in which names and aparty are assuming ever larger proportions, and in which so many people see the inevitable ruin of Germany at the end of a long road of misery, the Hilfswerk and the ecumenical church are a great and living demonstration of the only way in which true peace can be built again on earth, this time on lasting foundations.

Palestine had been continuously occupied and owned by the Arabs for more than 1,300 years. Against this fact, before the occupation by the Arabs in the seventh century, the Jews have more than 3,000 years of recorded history. Zionism seeks to solve the problem of Jewish homelessman. ness. The Jews are an ancient people with an old history which they cannot deny and begin afresh. Their spiritual forces can only be released through the historical consciousness that in Palestine, and in Palestine alone, is the fate of the race to be found. The Jew will go down in this world if he denies the country of his

the Arabs, Palestine was not included.

The Jewish right to Palestine is fortified by what he has already accomplished in that land. So much that its economic position improved that, from being a country of Arab emigration, it has now become a country of Arab immigration. The Zionist has returned to the soil of Palesting and introduced intensive Palestine and introduced intensive methods of cultivation, which will make a larger population possible. So far the whole of the National Home has been built up by the work of his own hands, from the ground upwards. Two-thirds of Western Palestine is still waste land—uncultivated, unsettled and believed by the Arabs to be uncultivable—but for the Jew no part of Palestine is uncul-

## NOT A JEWISH SOLUTION

"The solution suggested by the United Nations Commission," said Mr. Bakstansky, "is not a Jewish solution at all. Not content with having, in the past, taken Transpordan away from us and given it to the Arabs, another half of what is left of West Palestine is to be taken away, leaving something like 5,000 sq. miles, and added to the Arab Estate of over a million sq. miles. But account must be taken of the fact that for the first time in 30 years aconstructive compromise has emerged which seems to command widespread acceptance. Moderate Arabs are prepared to look at the scheme with some interest.

"We believe we are entitled to the whole

"We believe we are entitled to the whole of Western Palestine, but we are above all concerned with the urgent plight of the Jews who have survived Hitler and must be found a home in Palestine, and it is a scheme which we cannot brush aside merely because we feel we have been unitally treated.

justly treated.

"We must realise that we live in a world which is difficult and cruel, and readiness-to compromise is a quality that fits one for existence in this world. We are therefore prepared to give this scheme our favourable consideration."

Mr. Atiyah, on the other hand, maintained that a Jewish state in a part of Palestine would be opposed with force if necessary by the whole Arab world. It would plunge the Middle East into a war in which the principle victims in the long run would be the Jews of Palestine themselves.

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MEETINGS, &c.

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Nov. 19, Lunch-hr. mtg. (1.15—2.15),
Maurice Edelman, MP, "The Functional Approach," Admission free.
National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh
lectures every Sun.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Nov. 16: Marjorie Mitchell. "Limitations of State Education." London Amarchist Group.

SOUTHERN AREA PPU: important meetings Sat., Nov. 22. Southampton Friends House, Ordnance Road, 3 p.m. Area Business; 5 p.m. tea; 6 p.m. "Germany Today," by Stuart Morris. Every Group should be represented, contact members expected. Members' friends invited to evening session. evening session.

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COMMENTARY CONTINUED

before he returned to Poland, and could not help noticing from the press photographs and film interview how much he has aged in so short a time. No one could fail in his pre-sence to be conscious of his complete honesty and sincerity, and of his love for his people and country. He too has suffered from his sensitiveness, and while one must be thankful for his safety one cannot but deplore the causes which have made him again a refugee.

## Outlook unsettled

WHILE such men die, or are driven out, the moves and counter-moves continue on the United Nations' chess board. How many more times can "check" be called before the board is flung down in violence and the national pieces are swept into limbo? Now it is the plan for an Interim Committee, to report on questions of international peace and security, which has gone, by forty-three votes to six, with six absentions. The forty-three votes were of course in favour of the plan, which means that technically it has been adopted; but without the participation of the rejecting Russian group it becomes meaningless and unworkable. This makes the third measure within the life of the present Assembly to be negatived by the new international weapon of blockade by vote.

A new word now comes into currency: it is "Trizonia," and represents a draft scheme for the unification of the American, British, and French zones of Germany under a provisional German government, should there be failure to reach agreement with Russia about Germany's future at the coming Conference of Foreign Ministers in London, Russia, in her own way, wants a united Germany, if only to prevent the western industrial area prevent the western industrial area working for the western Powers. But as in other cases it hardly seems to

be the good of the German people which is the primary concern of either side. It is appreciated from the economic angle that Germany must be allowed to become substantially self-supporting, otherwise she will only ulcerate the European system. But of peace for and with Germany the political signs do not speak so favourably.

T is refreshing to turn to at least one area of agreement, limited though it is, in the international sphere. As a Liberal I naturally welcome the understanding reached at Geneva recently between twentythree countries on tariffs and trade, which will have the effect of knocking at least the top rows off many tariff walls and increasing freedom of trade. The agreement is to be made the basis of the charter of the proposed International Trade Organization (ITO) sation (ITO in your dictionary of initials) at the forthcoming Havana Conference to which all members of the United Nations have been invited. The charter is designed to embody a new code of commercial behaviour between retions behaviour between nations covering tariffs, quotas and State trading, and thus to curb unilateral and monopolistic actions. The charter may not go far enough, but it is a step in the right direction.

## Tailpiece

WHICH brings me to what I may call the Parable of Pap.
Young Deszio Pap, twelve-year-old
Hungarian lad, has got himself into the news by hitch-hiking eight hundred miles from Hungary to France to find his brother. He arrived worn out and nearly starving, but what mattered most was these but what mattered most was that unfortunately he had lost his brother's address on the way. The moral is, I suppose, never lose sight of your final destination even if you are going in the right direction.

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## **Publications Received**

## AN INTERVIEW WITH KING HAAKON

THE Editor of "International Youth Review" was present at the second World Conference of Christian Youth held this year in Oslo, and gives his impressions in the Autumn issue of the "Review." He calls of his private audience with Vince tells of his private audience with King Haakon of Norway, and his broadcast over the Norwegian Radio. Greet-ings to readers are featured from such distinguished leaders as Dr. Martin Niemoller of Germany; Rev. Dr. W. A. Visser T'Hooft, Secretary of the World Council of Christian Churches; Bishop Eivind Berggray, Primate of Norway; Rev. Alex. Johnson, Chairman of the Conference; and Rev. Francis H. House, Conference Secretary. There is also a message to World Youth from some of the dele-World Youth from some of the dele-

Copies may be ordered from 39, Forest Drive, West London, E.11, 7d.

Experiment in Friendship, by E. R. Staniford. Bletchley Printers Ltd.,

THIS pamphlet describes the way in which the people of Bletchley extended the hand of friendship to the prisoners of war in a nearby camp. If anything was needed to convince the sceptic as to the value of such an experiment in friendship this account should succeed in doing so. The way in which the men responded, the friendships that were built up, the part the churches played, the social gatherings, trips and discussions that were organised, the greetings that were sent to the families of the men in Germany and the replies that were received—all this is described simply yet vividly. It is a valuable record of a fine example of practical peace-

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## European broadcasts in English

# "NATION SHALL SPEAK PEACE UNTO NATION"

TT is just over ten years since the above quotation slipped quietly from the front cover of Radio Times. That event marked a movement towards radio isolation that was to be followed by the disappearance of a valuable guide to international listening—World Radio—and later the elimination of foreign programmes from the daily press.

a Sunday morning, open their 16-page Politiken, find there details of Britain's Home, Light and Third programme as well as those of Sweden, Norway, Russia and nine or ten other European systems. While ten other European systems. While it is obvious that Britain's shortage of newsprint renders it impossible to give up half a page of a Sunday newspaper to radio-programmes, especially when priority must be given to the publication of serial

The citizens of Copenhagen who, on stories such as "For Ever Amber," it should surely be possible for Radio Times to find a quarter of a page each week for some details of foreign broadcasts.

Hoping that there may be something to be said for the power of example, Peace News will print from time to time details of English broadcasts from Continental stations. In doing so we acknowledge the help given by the BBC in confirming the all-too-frequent changes in wave-

## Punjab Relief Appeal

THE Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the British Council of Churches, has launched an appeal for funds to assist the relief work being done for refugees in India and Pakistan. Other signatories are Dr. J. R. Temple, Lord Halifax, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Dame Elizabeth Cadbury and Carl Heath.

They point out that donors may be assured that their gifts will increase the means by which a ministry of healing and good will may be extended to sufferers, without discrimination of race or religion.

Personal contributions for the relief work of the National Christian Council in India and Pakistan should

be sent to:

The Conference of British Missionary
Societies Edinburgh House, Eaton Gate,
S.W.I. or to The Friends Service Council
(Quakers), Friends House, Euston Road,
London, N.W.I., for the relief work in
India and Pakistan of the Society of

## TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Nov. 13, 1937.

On Saturday, while celebrations marked the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a protocol was signed in Rome by which Italy was accepted as original signatory of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan.

Every mealtime at Swanwick Camp, Dick Sheppard wandered up and down the marquees looking of us

diners, laughing at us, talking to many, and winking at others.

At the end of the week he announced: "Every mealtime I have walked up and down among you pacifists, and I have studied all your faces, searching into them to see who there was to carry on this great work when I die. And I was very satisfied."

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			6000	40.00	

\*Not Sundays. †Alternate Sundays. †Sundays only. §Not Tuesdays, Thursdays or Saturdays,

2000-2030

## **NEW ZEALAND**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

correspondent, A. C. Barrington, "the judgment should have a salutary effect with regard not only to processions but also open-air meetings.

"I myself earlier in the year applied for a permit to hold open-air pacifist meetings naming three alternative sites. The application was refused and it was later confirmed that the refusal extended to any site in Wellington, the excuse being congestion of traffic on Friday evenings.

"The Labour Party and the Communist Party, however, hold regular meetings under permit. Regarding this as a denial of elementary rights of assembly I commenced meetings in defiance of the ban on the most prominent of the three sites, in the heart of the City. The meetings have continued successfully for nine weeks without interference. The Magistrate's judgment should make interference less likely in future."

# 

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